Scene in 1870:

* Central balance of Europe differed
* 4 coherent nation states: Britain (B), france (F), Italy (I), Germany (G)
* 2 large unstable states: Russia (R), Austria-hungary (AH)—competing for dominance in eastern Europe where ottoman empire failing
* G ascendancy
  + Germany possessed largest battalion efficiently employed
  + G economic growth faster than European rivals, especially in militarily strategic sectors (steel, chemicals, electricity)
  + Education and science
  + Wide popular support for state
  + Closed independent executive capable of manipulating support without bending to it
  + Overwhelming military and political prestige
  + Surrounded by nation states—resources easier to employ
* International economy
  + All major states on gold standard
  + Funds moved freely between financial centers
  + Commodities traded almost as easily
* Multipolar balance of power with six major actors
  + Each could calculate based on national interest with military to back ambitions
  + Armies grew in size and influence
  + Naval competition escalated
  + I joined in Mediterranean, G in north sea and Baltic, R is black sea
  + 1875 war scare: Bismarck instituted kulturkampf to strengthen domestic position and isolate france—campaign designed to reduce influence of papacy in Europe (Catholicism religion of german separatists, e.g. poles, etc)
  + Diplomatic coalition against germany—AH and F bitter about defeat, B suspicious of Bismarck, R bitter at dominance—joint demarche limited bismarck’s campaigns
  + Bismarck veiled german aggression and converted diplomatic system into colonial system
  + Bismarck made ideological entente against both political new socialism that tsar feared and ethnic old nationalism that threatened Austria—dreikaiserbund 1881 which removed French eastern allies
  + Meanwhile france had to be appeased—compensated with colonies and overseas adventures, French expansion encouraged by diplomatic means
  + Colonial competition alienated F from B and I (I wanted tunis, Egypt affair caused F-B rivalry)
  + I joined triple alliance 1882
  + Result of this multipolar non-cooperative non-collective competition—series of preemptive, formal annexations on periphery
  + Increasing number of states with expanding trade now competed with old pax Britannica—increase in number produced gold rush
  + New numbers armed with means of exercising influence at distance
  + Colonial tariff revenues attractive way to offset operating costs of military forces in Europe
  + Increased competition from newly efficient industrial powers lowered margin between B’s revenues in free trade market and cost of providing open door security—pressure on B to acquire more exclusive advantages (e.g. special arrangements that royal niger company would enjoy in revenue and trade control) in turn increased incentive of other powers to obtain exclusive advantages

New Imperialism

* In west Africa, France projects for tapping wealth in sudan interior seemed to require military conquest to solve problems of political instability of Islamic states
* On west coast of Africa, political action necessary as long term fiscal and judicial problems of small trading posts intensified after 1880 by growing international competition and mutual fears among interested powers of exclusive protectorate and tariff treaties
* In congo, Leopold’s plans for highly informal commercial enterprise led to formal territorial division—french assumed leopold’s treaty would give him exclusive political and economic control, so staked defensive counterclaims, other powers reacted to French moves
* Southwest africa, Bismarck protected luderitz’s concession partly because he couldn’t extract B’s assurance for this private economic venture
* In east Africa, Bismarck similarly supported karl peters’ enterprise while B came to regard access to lakes of interior a major national interest, essential to protecting headwaters of nile, hence Egypt, hence route to india
* South central Africa a desire to satisfy cape colony imperialists—essentially political motive for establishing B sphere of interest and later protectorate
* Formal rule was necessary to impose taxes and tariffs that would recoup operating expenses as no peripheral regime could be expected to tax its own commerce for foreigners’ exclusive benefits—any informally controlled regime would ally with foreigner offering better terms
* Security concerns played role in expansion along nile and niger—french commercial competition affected britain’s decision to support goldie in niger and securing route to india shaped b strategy towards Egypt
* But security factor not clear—despite perceived French and german threats, it took goldie three years to persuade government to grant him a charter
* Even in Egypt, canal’s standing in b security calculations ambiguous—equal emphasis was put on trade—bondholders’ committees, shipping associations mobilized support for intervention, empire expanded in regions practically devoid of metropolitan competition (france in Senegal, Russians in central asia, B in niger delta before 1870s)
* Imperial expansion not that important to national security of European metropoles, though some politicians/army officers thought so
* For B, empire in 1870s meant first white colonies with b emigrants (Canada, NZ, Australia, SA, etc), under protectionist system these had provided reserved markets for b exports and in return exports from these were admitted at lower customs rates🡪establishment of free trade, markets opened to goods of other nations, commercial independence ceded to white colonies
* In west Africa, B power established at sierra leone, gold coast and lagos in order to suppress slave trade and promote legitimate commerce, especially palm oil
* In east Africa, b propped up sultan of Zanzibar
* Opening of suez canal and completion of subcanal to india 1870 brought india under more direct B administration—importance of british Indian army grew as r power expanded into central asia, b expanded into near and far east
* For f, Algeria (occupied 1830) was cornerstone of Mediterranean and African ambitions, military base comparable with india
* F Ground nut and palm oil exported from Senegal
* F Saigon occupied after war with china for imports of raw silk for Lyons
* Suez canal built largely by f enterprise, capital and increased f economic interests in far east
* Saigon also naval base and f in pursuit of power and profit in SE asia, cochin-china brought under direct rule 1867, protectorates established over Cambodia 1863, annam 1874—similar to B rule in india and indirect rule in Burma
* F defeat in 1870 made acquisition of empire even more important, disraeli’s purchase of khedive’s shares was further blow—f hadn’t forgotten b displaced f in Canada and india century ago
* F moved away from free trade and made Senegal and Algeria into reserved markets for f exports
* 1879 f gov started building railway east from Senegal to meet niger river to satisfy commercial and military ambitions—b trading companies up niger would be checked
* F interests in northern Africa also increased—from Algeria eastward, influence could be extended to Tunisia—bey of tunis heavily indebted to French creditors, allowed French companies to win concessions to build railway Algeria-tunis, sink mines and develop land in preference to I, who had 50,000 emigrants there
* I clergy in Tunisia barrier to F influence but f bishop of Algeria founded missionary congregation and sent 12 “white fathers” into equatorial Africa to establish mission centers—claimed all interior territory under French religious authority
* Bismarck indicated he was okay with f annexation of tunis despite i claims, French troops established protectorate in 1881, with French Algerian bishop cardinal over i clergy
* I turned to triple alliance in 1882
* F-b Egypt: financial and strategic interest in suez canal
  + Khedive went bankrupt, b-f agreed to bail him out in return for financial and political controls to protect interests of bondholders, khedive agreed but became difficult later, so f-b forced him to abdicate
  + New Egyptian nationalist movement demanded control of budget, b-f to take joint action, but f parliament refused to credit expedition
  + B entered cairo alone 1882, f humiliated and jealous of b
  + F got no compensation for Egypt loss
* Naval officer-explorer de Brazza returned from Africa with treaties on Congo river, ratified by parliament, another French officer sent to lower niger to conclude similar treaties
* Leopold II concerned, still collecting treaties from chiefs in congo with help of Stanley—hoped for vast central African state
* British trade interests in west Africa insisted on maintaining free trade on congo and niger, b concluded treaty with Portugal as cat’s paw to safeguard interests in congo
* As economic depression bit, Bremen and hamburg firms looked to export goods further afield to west and east Africa and to pacific
* Bremen merchant luderitz built trading station on SW African coast in 1883, threatening b’s cape route to india, while in 1884 karl peters arrived in E Africa, threatening b trading and strategic interests in Zanzibar
* Bismarck declared southwest Africa protectorate and sent naval vessel to togoland and Cameroon, hemming in b interests on niger—bismarck wanted to establish german mittelafrika, boost national liberal party at home and bind it more closely to gov coalition as leader of national liberals was V.P. of colonial league (founded to press government to take colonial action), also keen to keep france happy by exploiting B-F rivalry over Egypt and to gain concessions from b—refused to recognize anglo-portuguese treaty and summoned berlin conference
* 1884-1885 berlin conference—main purpose was to keep free trade in congo but also gave countries chance to establish spheres of influence in areas they effectively occupied and resort to force if necessary to extract trading concessions from African rulers
* Government chartered companies dove into interior in pursuit of commercial interests—german east African company in 1885 and Tanganyika treaties under Karl Peters, will mackninnon’s british imperial east African company 1888 and influence in Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda, cecil rhodes’ british south African company 1889, also Bechuanaland (boxed g into SW Africa), Rhodesia and Nyasaland
* F couldn’t gain in Egypt but established tunis protectorate and turned to indo-china
* Rebellion against French in annam supported by Chinese put down, china ceded annam and Tonkin to French as protectorate—french premier Jules Ferry justified expansion as substitute for revenge against germany and means of reversing economic depression by exporting goods up the red river to 400 million consumers in china—but neither radicals nor right accepted colonialism, called it ‘corrupt, wasteful and dangerous;’ ferry gov fell—at this time (1874) colonies not popular with public, who wanted Alsace-lorraine or white colonies back
* After 1880s, public in f saw colonialism as projection and decisive factor of struggle for supremacy in Europe
* Dreikaiserbund (1873) gave r strong base for expansion in central asia, b fought afghan war 1874-7 to reinforce defences of india by annexing Khyber pass, but in 1885, r clashed with afghans--Made b uneasy
* R allowed by Austria to look to unification of Bulgaria and east roumelia in return for ah annexation of bosnia-herzgovina
* Serbia had been abandoned by r in 1878, now tied to ah by commercial treaty and secret political convention by which prince Milan could make himself king and have a free hand in Macedonia provided nationalists suppressed and no r forces admitted
* Vienna-constantinople railway was vehicle of ah interest in Balkans
* R traditionally liberated Balkan Christians from turks to build highway to Constantinople and railway across Bulgaria to Constantinople, but Bulgaria proved unreliable
* Bulgarians incensed by Serbian annexation of east roumelia, Serbians declared war 1885, but Bulgarian prince Alexander moved forces across and threatened Belgrade—only stopped by threat of ah intervention
* R humiliated—saw influence in Balkans being passed over to ah
* Tensions between r and g increased as r felt dreikaiserbund hindered Russian pan-slav ambitions
* Tensions exploited by f radicals revolting against Bismarck—approved colonial adventures and seeking revanche on rhine
* Boulanger—new leader of f reformed army and sought alliance w/ r
* Bismarck feared 2-front war and decided to enlarge army
* War scare strengthened g gov coalition of conservatives, free conservatives and national liberals
* B worried about r in Afghanistan and the straits, ah concerned about F and I in Mediterranean
* B-I-AH Mediterranean agreement 1887 to uphold status quo in Mediterranean, Aegean and black sea
* Dreikaiserbund expired 1887, but Bismarck negotiated reinsurance treaty with r, technically incompatible with triple alliance but was secret
* Russo-german relations deteriorated as Russian bonds blocked in berlin market—french financiers took over instead
* After bismarck’s dismissal, reinsurance treaty allowed to lapse, franco-russian treaty committed each country to help other in case of war w/g (1892-4)
* Wilhelm II got into weltpolitik—without naval power, germany risked losing colonies and being strangled by economic blockade
* B naval defence act 1889 and navy league 1895 raised stakes at sea
* Cecil Rhodes attempted to overthrow boer republic of Transvaal (1896) which was drifting closer to G—provoked Wilhelm and decided on naval expansion to protect overseas trade, colonies and challenge b naval supremacy in north sea while b was overstretched in far east and Mediterranean
* China fell prey to imperialism—r obtained base at Vladivostok 1860, Tonkin lost to france 1885, Burma to brits 1886, korea to japan 1894-5, sino-japanese war left china begging for loans
* Loans came with demands for concessions, r wanted trans-siberian railway across Manchuria to naval base Vladivostok
* 1897 g seized kiaochow on yellow sea—coaling station to make weltpolitik possible in far east
* 1898 r leased port Arthur (ice free) as naval base
* B got weihaiwei on opposite shore, f secured Kwangchow
* B focused on east Africa which guaranteed india security
* Egypt position shaky as fanatical mahdists reconquered sudan and other powers gathered around nile headwaters
* 1885 i encouraged to take over british massawa garrison on red sea and 1889 i established protectorate in Ethiopia—b indirect control over blue nile through i
* B offered g heligoland naval base and Tanganyika in return for recognition of b in Zanzibar, Uganda and Kenya—g barred from upper nile valley and b interests in route from cape-cairo safeguarded
* F offered free hand in west and central sudan and Madagascar in return for acceptance of b on nile
* Defeat of I in Ethiopia 1896 made b position shaky on nile
* Marchand planned to make agreements with mahdists and Ethiopians to force b out of Egypt
* Marchand defeated at fashoda on nile headwaters 1898

Britain—causes

* Transnational economy focused on and sustained empire
* Exporting manufactures and services to pay for food and raw material imports
* Economy became increasingly imperial
* But economic theories have been criticized—b trade and investment not heavily committed to newly colonized areas
* Free trade policy opened b to cheap food and increased dependence on raw materials from foreign sources despite imperial attempts to foster sources in india and Africa
* 1870s depression set in, g, f and USA began increasing productive efficiency and raised domestic and imperial tariffs
* B could no longer rely on great industrial textile and iron and steel markets for staple exports
* Textile and machinery sectors heavily dependent on export sales—represented 50% of employment in manufacturing sector
* G possessed large continental internal markets that b lacked
* Other colonial powers closed underdeveloped colonies with tariffs—free trade based underdeveloped regions of b empire increasingly concentrated on by b manufacturers
* B empire couldn’t be closed to b industry—without infant industry tariffs, indigenous textile development restrained by b cheap transport and efficiency, saved b textile industry
* B ranked 3rd in steel trade in Europe, but first in both Indian and new empire
* Empire also important for meeting balance of payments—crucial concern for economy dependent on food and raw material imports
* New arenas for competition in expanding sales against Foreign rivals—need for long production runs for low costs
* 1883 b exports to empire rose from .25 to 1/3 of total exports
* Imperial trade increased during 70s depression and overproduction
* Chamber of commerce and trade associations called for development of new markets
* B also received 10% national income from foreign investment
* European nationalism and development of competitive railroad companies led to sell shares in European railroads (1850s, 60s) and shift search for investment opportunities in more underdeveloped agricultural parts of the world
* B investors benefitted from relatively high and stable rates of capital, particularly when domestic investment was depressed—booms in foreign investment alternated with booms in domestic investment
* Efficient exporters of capital goods gained additional markets stimulated by foreign investment
* Traditional b economy expanded laterally—investments based on banking and gold standard—profits and exports generated—investment and cheaper raw materials

France

* Less substantial than b’s empire, fewer people, comparatively poor
* Economic activity less substantial—trade and investment less focused on empire, partly because only Algeria settled extensively
* F emphasized direct rule
* Ideology of assimilation
* Republic added Tonkin, annam, Cambodia, laos, north Africa, French west Africa, Madagascar
* Defeat in 1870 forced f attention on European balance of power
* No colonial adventures could be undertaken which would reduce f ability to stand up to future g threats
* To regain Alsace-Lorraine, had to nourish military and diplomatic strengths
* Colonies prestigious because they were one of attributes of b, leading state
* G=f’s only strategic threat, hence need to obtain g support for non-g directed French policies and to pursue foreign policies elsewhere
* G also held crucial vote on Egyptian affair needed for b to rule and reform Egypt
* F overseas trade <50% b’s overseas trade and investment—bore no comparison to b’s international economy
* 45% of b investment went to empire, only 9% of French foreign investment went to empire (25% went to r)
* F trade w/empire by 1900 proportionally less than it had been in 1800
* F agriculture (except wine) couldn’t compete with US, argentinia, r
* F economy 70s-80s moved into 2nd phase of industrialization—capital goods, steel-products competed with greater efficiency of b, g, and usa
* Infant industries demanded protection-- within empire, protection established to aid French textiles and other products against foreign competition
* Pressures for protection coincided with atlantic trade depression 1873-96
* International and peripheral trade pie seemed to be shrinking
* Protectionists can benefit from protected colonial market, but investment in colonies may not be worthwhile—critics in france claimed colonies were net loss
* But particular industries found colonies useful—silk manufacturers in Lyons sought stable source of raw silk in empire, sugar exporters found market for 68% of exports—these benefitted from and agitated for imperialism
* F national pride evoked after 1870—nationalism became religion of secular bourgeoisie
* Opportunists demanded glory in foreign affairs to redress 1870 defeat, because colonialism promoted prestige and spread of Opportunist faction’s bourgeois civilization
* Promotion of republican and bourgeois interests by encouraging exports and tropical imports, adding new opportunities for investment and for protecting previous investments in tunis, Egypt and cochin-china
* But this policy didn’t reflect reality of French trade—program was for future profits as foreign competition increased and trade depression deepened, also colonial program reflected interests of certain industrial sectors associated with opportunist faction—late 1870s, opportunists came to power with colonial tariffs and scramble for Africa
* Also a need to occupy army and navy—home army to be ever ready, ever inactive while g strength precluded revanche
* Colonial armies by contrast offered field of action and possibility of quick advancement
* Reluctance of legislature to assume new financial burden often circumvented by field officer faits accomplis
* Each government coalition had to rescue military adventurers in increasingly unlikely spots, e.g. sudan and Tonkin, and had to respond to special interests such as lyons silk and comite d’afrique
* Army and to a much lesser extent missionaries were French ‘imperial economy’
* Economy limited by comparative inefficiency of sectors focused on commerce with periphery—b more efficient in old industries (e.g. textiles), g and us better in new industries of steel and mass production
* F agri was capable of providing livelihood for farmers, unlike in b, so lesser emigration took place

Germany

* Limited colonialism—Togo, Cameroons, southwest Africa, Tanganyika and pacific islands, mostly in just one year of 1885 (under Bismarck)
* Chartered company rule and burst of acquisition 1885, second phase of weltpolitik adventurism in far east and military rule in Africa 1890-1906 under Wilhelm II
* Bismarck quarrelled with b to get f closer to g and away from f-r alliance
* G laid provocative claims to ownerless lands with certain negative value to b in that they adjoined existing b colonies or lay near strategic routes
* G policy before b intervention in 1882 designed to encourage f-b cooperation to avoid exacerbating f sense of isolation, containing revanche forces in france
* But after Egypt, b-f competition encouraged to ensure no European entente would form against g
* Supported f in Egypt policy, backed efforts to have b withdraw
* G sought simultaneously to appease and isolate france
* Demarches in W and SW Africa were moves to encroach on b African preserves
* By encouraging f and claiming areas in Africa, b planned to annoy b, gain concessions in Europe and encourage f-g rapprochement
* But in criticism of this theory of aussenpolitik, in most areas of conflict it was b who appeared to be appeasing france—bismarck feared more an anglo-french entente against g
* Furthermore, b deserted f in matter of congo trade barriers at berlin conference
* But Bismarck *did* have a policy of French appeasement which limited g colonialism to antagonising b
* Long term development of overproduction required foreign expansion
* Colonizing efforts could have been designed to help g exports
* G government lacked ability to pursue monetary, exchange rate and fiscal policies because of Reichstag restrictions on gov
* Needed foreign economic expansion to moderate swings of business cycles
* Revolutionary social pressures on conservative social fabric which cycles would otherwise create
* Extremely rapid development led to strains on iron, steel and agriculture—iron and steel from b competition and f subsidies, agri from us and r grain
* 1879 bismarck protected these two sectors with general tariff
* Overall structure of trade shifting away from Europe toward Americas and the orient
* But g economy as a whole much less internationally oriented than b, trade much smaller proportion of gnp and foreign investments considerably less significant—very little of trade and investment went to imperialized area
* Nor were new empire areas likely to become major markets of g specialty steels, electrical generators (too underdeveloped), although they absorbed much of hamburg’s gin
* Hamburg, Bremen and other north german cities had long traded with farflung areas in the pacific and more recently with Africa—this trade important to them and their political support important for Bismarck
* Colonial lobbies politically useful because they appealed to same middle class target that provided support for bismarck’s rivals
* Colonial quarrel with b could mobilize national fervor in Reichstag and discredit liberal progressive party associated with crown prince, thus restraining independence of next emperor and keeping Bismarck in office
* Colonial conflict with b would discredit prince also because he had English wife
* WII on the other hand employed social imperialism to woo workers away from socialism
* Attempted to link management of economy, provision of social welfare, extreme nationalism, militarism, transformation into monarchy into bonapartism with expansive, imperial weltpolitik as a palliative against social democrats
* Effort to achieve manipulated social imperialism in stalemated political society only led to militarism, destruction of representative government and world war I as wII failed to integrate forces of order (agrarian junkers, industrial middle class) against socialism and democracy

Public opinion

* F imperial federation league wanted Canada, Australia, nz and SA
* China ceded Tonkin to france, jules ferry justified this as substitution for revanche and alleviation of economic recession, but neither rights nor radicals supported move—ligue des patriotes wanted watchfulness over rhine
* When f offered central and western sudan and Madagascar in return for accepting brit ascendancy on nile, f people (bankers, shipping magnates, industrialists, military men, politicians, writers and journalists) set up French African committee in 1890 to protest agreement with british
* Brought together colonial group in chamber of deputies and acquired influence in government circles, aim was to pursue imperial power in Africa—extend French influence westwards from congo to upper nile to prevent brit cape-cairo route and force b to reconsider position in Egypt
* Alliance with Russia gave confidence to f, sent military expedition under marchand to f congo and nile—eventually clashed with kitchener 1898 at fashoda
* Gladstone 1892-4 adopted ‘little englander’ attitude but actions were constrained by public opinion—book titled “England in Egypt” was very influential, argued that B should not only retain Egypt but reconquer sudan
* Lord Rosebury, gladstone’s successor, tightened hold on nile by establishing Uganda protectorate—said any French advance into b area henceforth considered “unfriendly act”
* Triumph of liberal unionists and conservatives led by lord Salisbury in 1895 represented feeling in favour of imperial greatness
* France defeated in fashoda, paris nationalists outraged, threatened to topple ministry responsible

“higher” principles:

* Imperialism sanctioned by high moral principles as vehicle of peace, Christianity and civilization
* French spoke of civilizing mission and exempted missionary orders from legislation that banned other congregations in france—abroad, missionaries labored on behalf of f civilization in general—apparently anti-clericalism was not for export
* Germans carried capital and kultur to colonies
* B spoke of white man’s burden
* Justifications were hypocritical—f colonies assimilated only tiny minority of indigenous populations—to win f citizenship, they had to obey French law, be adopted by French family, marry f national, obtain f secondary education or do military service—all others were ‘subjects’ without political rights, forced labor
* 1897 g authorities used pretext of deaths of 2 missionaries in china to occupy kiaochow and obtained catholic center party support
* B pretext for boer war was to protect poor English population of Transvaal denied vote by the boers, but opposed by many—denounced as oppression at service of private fortune of cecil Rhodes
* General urban population under influence of popular jingoism, not high moral missions—give em hell!